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592 has its own life, so has each household. There is both a division and sharing of labour in the care of the children, in the gardening, in the cooking, and in all the activities which compose the fabric of daily life. The daily meeting of the family for its evening meal, the affection between them, and even their quarrels, all help to wield them into a close-knit unit.

161 The population of Lesu was 232, eleven of whom were
162 absent working on coconut plantations. There were 66 households, in which lived 62 adult males, 63 adult females, 65 male children, 42 female children. The accompanying notes give the number now present in each household and not the number of children born in each family. Some of the children have died, others have married and formed households of their own, and others may be away. The average number of offspring per fruitful woman is 2·9.[1]

Kinship

MOIETY AND CLAN

616 Cutting across the local groupings are the lines of kinship.
136 The society is divided into two exogamous moieties, *Telenga*, the fish hawk (*Pandion leucocephalus*, a marine bird which feeds on fish it catches in the shallow water of the reef), and *Kongkong*, the eagle (*Haliaëtus leucogaster*, a very large bird living in high trees, and which often feeds on marine animals which it sometimes obtains by chasing the *Telenga* and catching the food it drops). The members of each
616 moiety regard themselves as related to each other in a
614 classificatory manner. Each moiety is divided into a number of clans, an extended family group, all the members of

[1] For detailed information on birth and death rates see the author's article, "Vital Statistics of New Ireland (Bismarck Archipelago) as Revealed in Genealogies," *Human Biology*, September 1931, Vol. 3, No. 3.

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616 which are related in the female line.[1] The Hawk and Eagle
614 moieties appear to extend over all of New Ireland and the
Tabar islands too, and the rule of exogamy functions wherever the moieties are found. The subdivision into clans, however, seems to vary in different linguistic units.[2] Because
616 of the rule of matrilocal residence, members of a clan may
614 reside in different villages, usually in near-by ones of the
591 same linguistic unit. If, for example, a Lesu man marries a woman from Ambwa, he will usually go to live there, leaving his clan relatives at Lesu. But he will return to Lesu for all rites and events in which the latter are concerned, and he will be buried there. The female members of the clan, because of the same rule of matrilocal residence, are more likely to reside in the same village and hamlet. Also, as marriages within the same village are quite common, a man will frequently not have to change his residence upon marriage.

616 Although Eagle and Hawk are the names of the two
614 moieties, there is, as far as I could learn, no theory of descent
773 from either animal.[3] The native explanation of the origin of the moiety and clan structure as well as of the whole social organization and of the culture itself is contained in a myth about their ancestral heroine, Tsenabonpil. The narrative relates in detail how the people of Lesu went to one of the Tabar islands near by because they were afraid of a pig named Luana, who ate people. The old woman,

[1] The natives have only one word, *mutingbung*, to designate both moiety and clan. They differentiate the two by prefixing the adjective "big" for moiety, and "little" for clan.

[2] This statement is based on the literature of the area and on a limited amount of survey work which I was able to do in a few brief visits to other linguistic units.

[3] Peekel, in his study of central New Ireland, refers to these birds as gods of the marriage classes, and links them both with the sun and moon. Peekel, P. G., *Religion und Zauberei auf dem Mitteren New Mecklenburg, Collection Internationale de Monographies, Ethnologiques, Anthropos*, Tom. I, 3 Fasc., pp. 6–8. I could find no evidence for either theory.

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Tsenabonpil, was left behind because she had a swollen leg (probably elephantiasis), and it was feared that she would sink the canoe. After people left, she had intercourse with a *kuwiwi* bird, and she gave birth to twin boys, Daror and Damuramurari. When the boys grew up Tsenabonpil told them that they must kill the cannibalistic pig, Luana. After many adventures they succeeded in capturing and killing him. Then the old woman sent some of the hair of the pig, attached to a coconut leaf, to Tabar, to indicate to the Lesu people that the pig had been killed. They returned in their canoes to Tabar, and now Tsenabonpil gave them their totemic structure and all knowledge. She cut marks on a tree to designate the two moieties and then made further markings as she called out the names of all the clans. At the same time she gave them knowledge of magic, of medicine, of all their crafts, and of everything else they now know. After this she and her two sons disappeared.

There is one supposition that Tsenabonpil is still alive, but where she is no one knows, and all the versions of the myth end with her disappearance.[1]

Each clan is associated with a small piece of land, occasionally with a part of a reef, or a passage of water, and sometimes all three. This clan or *tsenalis* ground is owned communally by the clan members, and on it is supposed to dwell a totemic pig or snake (sometimes both), or, in the case of water, a shark. The adjective *tsenalis* is also used to describe the animal, which is friendly to people of its clan, but hostile to those of others. The animal is supposed to have lived on this ground for ever, and it is believed that it will continue to do so.

The following is a list of clans collected in the linguistic

[1] It was quite impossible to get the natives to speculate on their social organization before Tsenabonpil gave them their present structure. She is regarded as the source of all knowledge, and beyond that they do not go.

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unit in which I lived and mostly from the village of Lesu. When the clan is foreign, that of a person from another linguistic unit who has married into this district, the fact is noted in parenthesis. A brief description of the totemic land and animal associated with each clan is also given when known. It is probable that in the past other clans, the members of which are now all dead, existed in this district. Because of the depopulation which has occurred, some clans now have only a very few members.

TELENGA (FISH HAWK) MOIETY

CLANS

Sinpop. Ground called Punbukua and located near the hamlet of Onel; animal, a pig named Tsinunas.

Sakwila. Ground named Belagila and about ten miles from Lesu; animal, a shark living in the water off the shore of Belagila.[1]

Pasabasaba. Ground is called by the same name, Pasabasaba, and consists of some rocks jutting part-way out into the water very close to the Belagila land of the Sakwila clan. Animal, a shark living in the water near by.[2]

Tsajil. Ground, a small section of the beach in the village of Langania and called by the clan name, Tsajil. No information about the animal.

Mala. Small part of beach near Pinakundo, about thirty miles from Lesu; two sharks named Lugadowai and Pamut.

Tujah. Stones jutting out into the water at the village of Langania called Kolabaruk; animal, a shark with the same name, Kolabaruk.

Palila. Ground, the small island of Jenusa close to the shore of Lesu. Tsenabonpil, the mythical culture heroine, is supposed to have lived on Jenusa and the hamlets directly opposite; animal, a pig.

[1] A plantation by the same name, Belagila, is on this land now.
[2] The name of this shark is not in my notes.

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Pananiwuk. A deep passage of water containing very large stones close to the island of Jenusa and called Selina; pig named Deklus is supposed to live under the big stone in the water. Another piece of ground called Lapalip, part of the beach off the hamlet of Pomenluasau, is also associated totemically with Pananiwuk clan. According to a myth it appears that Pananiwuk formerly had so many people in it that it split into two parts, one keeping the original name and the other being known as Lapalip. To-day they are considered as one clan.

Katombi (Tabar islands—foreign).

Linmaaruah (Fakmalak village—foreign).

Kunasarah (foreign).

Mungamap (foreign).

Mugatirin (foreign).

Paniwat.

Bunkoh.

Muhalua.

KONGKONG (EAGLE) MOIETY

CLANS

Sinimanbul. Ground on top of a mountain near the former bush hamlet, Lenopil, parallel with Lesu, but further in the bush and in the hills. The ground has two names, Kuritungaru and Tungarum. Animal is a female snake, called Kutamel. It is said that the snake makes its appearance when a Sinimanbul person is about to die and then disappears immediately afterwards. This clan was formerly a very big one, I am told, but now has only a few people in it.

Solema. (1) Rocky shore jutting out into the sea near Onel, and (2), the bush just behind it. The first part is called Memelinat and the second Lenserima. Animal is a female snake named Luluma. Tale of how the snake appears just before a member of the clan is about to die.

Maoga. Ground called Wasaua, and is part of the beach and bush at the village of Ambwa. Two animals: a shark named Bunbunjisam and a snake called Tulut..

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Saramangari. Ground at the Tabar Islands, called Samatra. Two animals: a snake called Latuba and a shark, Rowilau.

Tupila. Ground has two names, Pentumasong and Ponmidaruk, and is part of the bush bordering the eastern end of Lesu. Animal is a snake called Mulamulalesu.

Tsililia. Ground called Punsimilan, and is part of the beach off the village of Ambwa and a little of the bush extending in from the beach. Shark, named Melamel, dwells in the water off the beach, and a snake, Salut, in the bush.

Kaba. Ground in the bush village of Malua (in hills back of Lesu). (Name of ground not known.) Snake on it called Muvil.

Noasa. Small part of beach and bush in from beach, half-way between the villages of Lesu and Ambwa, and called Bungmus. Snake, called Kuaterapu (female), lives in the bush part, and a shark, named Tsuntsunpal, in the water just off the beach. Only one member of this clan now survives, and he lives in Ambwa.

Peri. Beach and part of bush called Lunkenken, also between Lesu and Ambwa. Snake, called Tosali, and shark, Purau. On this site there was in the past a village called Poile. Sometime in the past an epidemic killed off most of the people in this village, and the few survivors went to either Lesu or Ambwa.

Munin. Ground and beach called Munin, and about thirty miles west of Lesu. Shark named Lagilat.

Lelil. Ground called Tsudmisit and just behind the hamlet of Pengull. Snake named Bukbugi. Only one survivor of this clan left, most of them having died from illness, according to the native tales.

Kaparak. A Tabar clan. Shark named Manbuta. In the past, I was told that the Kaparak people of the Tabar islands were buried at sea. A stone was tied to the foot of the corpse, which was then dropped into the sea. The men carrying the corpse called to the shark Manbuta, who was then supposed to come and carry the corpse to the bottom of the sea.

Eisu. A Tabar clan.

Butua. A Tabar clan.

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Tsndiwes.
Nabuath.
Lendut (foreign).
Punbunaba.
Mulaiga.
Muhtin.

Only one folk-tale, which in any way indicated descent from the *tsenalis* animal was told to me, and that referred to the *Kaba* clan, whose totemic animal is the female snake named Muvil. The tale tells how a *kaba* man named Subling was walking in the bush and heard a child cry. On going to the place from which the cry came he found a human infant, a female child of the snake, Muvil. The man took the child home with him and told the snake mother to follow. Subling and his wife brought up the child whom they call Pusaling, and Muvil, the snake mother, remained near the house until the child reached puberty and married. She had many children, all of whom of course belonged to the *Kaba* clan.

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Besides the clan animal each piece of clan land is inhabited by the *gas*, a double of each living member of the clan. It is difficult to get a very exact idea of the *gas*, other than that each man, woman, and child possesses one, that it dies when its human counterpart dies, that it may take different forms (in one tale it appears as a dwarf), that it lives in a *lima* tree, and that it is rarely seen by its human counterpart. However, occasionally the folk-tales recount a meeting between a human being and a *gas*. One of the most interesting concerns the adventures of a man named Muk, a member of the *Sinpop* clan, who lived in the hamlet of Penguli. One day all the men of this hamlet, including Muk, went fishing, and after they caught the fish they made a fire and prepared them for cooking. They had brought no taro with them, and so Muk returned to the hamlet to

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614 774 773 get some. With the taro he received from the women, he was on his way back to the men on the beach, when he came upon a group of *gas*, whom he mistook for men from Penguli; his own *gas* was among them. They said, "Who are you?" and he replied "Muk," and then they showed him his *gas*, also named Muk. They told him to catch a very large fish named *Un*. This he did, but the fish was too heavy for him to lift. His *gas*, however, lifted it without any effort.[1] Muk wanted to go now and find his companions, but the *gas* would not allow him to return, and took him, unwillingly, with them to the bush.

In the meantime all the men were waiting for Muk to come with the taro; finally, they had to eat the fish without it. When they returned to Penguli, they asked the women what had happened to Muk, and they could only tell how they saw Muk start off with the taro to join the men. They assumed that Muk was dead; his wife and clan relatives wailed, and preparations were begun for the mortuary rites.

However, the next day Muk returned to Penguli and related all that had happened to him, how he was not killed by the *gas* because his own *gas* protected him and did not permit the others to kill him. Muk recounted how, when the *gas* ate, the food did not stay long in their stomachs, and how immediately after eating they defaecated. The *gas*, including his own, overheard Muk telling this tale; they were cross and immediately strangled and killed him. The *gas* were never seen again. The mortuary feast was made for Muk.

614 616 582 The clan and moiety are much more than mere totemic divisions of the society, for they are also very active functioning units. Since the moieties are exogamous, they set the structure for sex life. Members of the Hawk moiety must

[1] Many other tales stress the strength of the *gas*, which can break a man in two as if he were a small branch of a tree, or lift up a house and carry it away, etc.

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pick their mates from the Eagle moiety and *vice versa*. Transgressing this rule, either in or out of marriage, is the worse crime of Lesu society. Between the moieties there is a set of reciprocal duties, including an exchange of food at pregnancy, birth, circumcision, first menstruation, marriage, and death rites. As the members of a moiety are scattered through households, hamlets, and villages, they generally function as a unit only at these rites. The clan, on the other hand, functions frequently as an economic unit, the members assisting each other in all their important undertakings. Since it is the important old men of the clan who are the real governing force, the clan largely conditions the political structure. These men are called *orang*, which may be translated as old men of influence, rather than chief. It is they who are an informal council, meeting in the men's house and discussing and deciding any questions of importance. Young and middle-aged men listen to them with respectful attention. The position of *orang* in the clan is not inherited. At the death of one, it may fall on his brother, but there is no rule for the choice. The oldest and most influential man of the clan, regardless of his exact relationship to the dead man, will be regarded as an *orang*. His influence is based on his age, strength of his personality, and his wealth. Oratorical ability and magical knowledge also increase his prestige. The *orang* is not formally chosen by an election. In these small and primitive communities everyone knows who is the most influential man, and he maintains his position by mutual consent.

In the past, each village had a warrior chief, also called *orang*, who was distinct from the clan *orang*. He had to know war magic and was always a rich man. The position was inherited, but not in a very exact line. His brother, his brother's son, his sister's son, and his own son have all at various times inherited a dead warrior chief's position. The ability of the man and the personal preference of the old

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the two sexes after their separation in the preliminary rites. The unusualness of the women dancing within the enclosure of the men's house, which ordinarily they do not enter, adds to the unconventionality of the occasion. Perhaps it is by stepping outside the rules of the society that the occasion is made more significant. The period of continence following the promiscuity also contributes to the significance of the event.

The women have been a unit apart from the men, opposing the circumcision of the boys and expressing their sorrow in the dance. The men have taken the boys from their mothers, and at the end of the period of seclusion have welcomed them by the dance and by the *malanggan* rites into the masculine society. The *malanggans*, it must be remembered, are the most important ritual objects of the society and taboo to the women. It is therefore quite fitting that they be displayed on this occasion.

It has been noted that the parents and clan relatives play different roles, and how the relationship of the boys to their clan relatives is stressed at this time. It is the clan relatives who get the betel-nut and *tsera* from the members of the opposite moiety. It is particularly the maternal uncle who has featured in the rites. It is he who contributes much of the wealth necessary to hold the rites. His relationship is stressed again when his wife, and not the mother of the boy, has the opportunity of making a speech of either praise or blame about her husband.

And yet while the father does not have such an important ritual role, he is not unimportant, for it is the father and the maternal uncle who walk affectionately and encouragingly with the boy just before he enters the enclosure, and it is also the father who holds the boy during the painful operation. The relationship to the father is also emphasized when the boys come out of the enclosure and

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881 778 593 614 give tobacco and pig's fat to the father's sister.[1] The sentiments binding fathers to their boys are given full expression, even though the clan relatives may have a dominant ritual role. The mothers who are of the same clan as their sons have their role too. It is they (and not the wife of the maternal uncle) who weep and fight the men when the boys are taken into the enclosure. It is they also who have been especially zealous with contributions from their gardens and in preparing the food. While the initiation rites are of particular concern to the parents and clan relatives of the boys, the whole community is also interested and anticipates the event months in advance. The presence and participation of all the members of the community adds impressiveness to the occasion, and brings the rites to an effective and dramatic climax.

881 778 The combination of the *malanggan* rites with the initiation rites is of interest. While everyone knows that the former are for the dead, and while the figures on the carvings represent dead ancestors, the points stressed in speeches have nothing to do with the dead persons. Those making the *malanggans* tell how the right to make them has come down through their clan, how they have collected much wealth before they could be made, and how they are now making them because the boys are being initiated. The dead remain in their graves quite undisturbed. The making of *malanggans* at this time adds additional significance to the initiation rites.

882 304 The boy has been initiated and is now a full member of masculine society. He sleeps in the men's house, and while he continues to eat at home and still participates in the family life, a break has been made between him and his

[1] This might also be interpreted in another way, for these women are of the moiety of the boys' future mates, and the presentation of tobacco and pig's fat may symbolize their future relations with women of the opposite moiety.

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practising magic of one kind or another, and only two are women. Of these, one knows love magic and the other medical spells. Magical knowledge is inherited, and the rule is that it be handed down in the female line, and thus stays within the clan. But in tracing how each magician received his magic, I found that it came just as often from a father as a maternal uncle or other clan relative. A magician makes a payment to the person teaching him the spells, and thereafter he guards his knowledge carefully, for as has already been shown the knowledge of magic is an economic asset.[1] Only one type of magic is usually known to a magician; for example, the rain magician will not know love magic. The exception is medical magic, which is more widely known, and so a man who is skilled in love spells may also know a few spells connected with medicine.

The thirteen magicians of Lesu form no separate class, and except for the additional prestige and income they receive they cannot be differentiated from other people. They participate fully in the daily routine of work, and a magician mends his house, clears the bush ground, brings in firewood, and looks after the baby, just as does the non-magician. A woman might know magic, but this does not exempt her from the daily toil of scraping taro. Both temperamentally and mentally the magician appears no different from any other native. He has merely inherited certain spells which he performs for himself when he needs them, or when he is paid by someone for his services. He does not seem to be of any particular type of personality. The magicians of Lesu varied widely in temperament. Some were serious and quiet, others were gay; some were exceptionally good craftsmen, and others were only mediocre. But all magicians, and non-magicians too, were equal in the sincerity of their belief in the efficacy of the magic.

The power of the magic lies in the muttered spell. The

[1] See chapter on Work.

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CHAPTER IX

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

FAMILY *VERSUS* CLAN SENTIMENTS

183 593 614 In our observation of the behaviour of the Lesu people we have noted social patterns and at the same time variations from them. But a distinction must first be made within the social patterns themselves. Some are highly ritualized and others are non-ritual. Most of the ritualized behaviour is concerned with the clan and the moiety. It is the clan and moiety members which function as a unit at marriage, death, and other important rites. While family life follows along more or less customary procedure, there is very little ritual connected with it. Family sentiments are apparently so strong and fundamental that they do not need ritual to reinforce them or to make them into behaviour patterns. On the other hand, ritual seems to be necessary to keep clan sentiments active. The family non-ritualized sentiments sometimes even override the clan's highly standardized rules, as when a father frequently teaches his magical spells to his son rather than to his maternal nephew. Or the family sentiments may sometimes function more actively than the clan standardized ones. When Pulong was ill, her husband was much more concerned and worried than her brother, although, if she had died, the latter would have had charge of the mortuary rites. The sentiments which develop in the family seem to be stronger and perhaps more fundamental than those which surround the clan. For the family sentiments exist unaided by ritual, while the clan ones apparently must have the ritual.

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FORMATION AND FUNCTIONING OF SOCIAL PATTERNS

It is fairly easy to pick out the social patterns and see how they have been formed. All the units of the social organization—the family, clan, moiety, village, hamlet—are agents in the socialization of the individual, and these same units foster the social patterns of behaviour and the social sentiments which underlie them. For instance, the principle or sentiment of reciprocity functions through the ritual exchange of gifts between members of different clans, moieties, and villages. Within the family, too, the same principle of reciprocity functions in the exchange of services between mates, as it does also in the exchange of currency for sexual favours in extra-marital relationships. The clan regulates maternal descent and inheritance and matrilocal residence, which set certain patterns of behaviour. The clan also provides the structure for much of the political and economic organization, in that it is the important old men of each clan who are the leaders of the community. Again, it is the members of a clan who share in joint economic responsibilities. The maternal uncle takes the responsibility for providing feasts for his sister's children during their infancy. It is the clan relatives of a groom who assist him in collecting the marriage payment, and it is the bride's clan relatives who receive the payment. In a similar way, it is the clan relatives of a dead person who take the responsibility of providing the proper mortuary rites. The family, too, functions as an economic unit on a smaller scale. It is also the family, clan, and moiety which give form to the kinship system, for a native receives his place in the kinship system through his position in these groups. So one could continue almost indefinitely to show how institutions by their particular form provide the mould for social patterns of behaviour.

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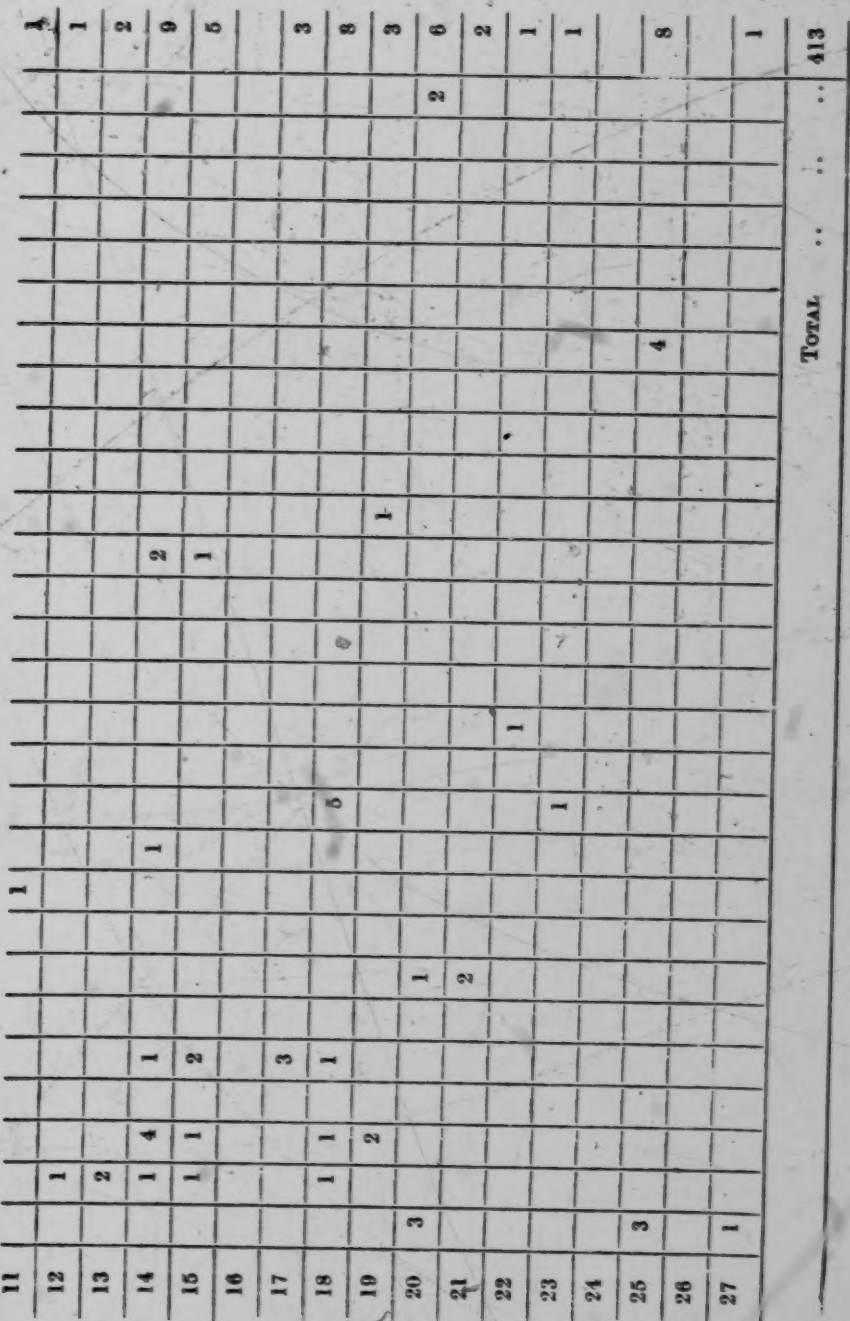
APPENDIX II

INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS

Clans of the Eagle moiety are designated by numbers and clans of the Hawk moiety by letters. The number of marriages between members of each clan and members of different clans of the opposite moiety is recorded. A total of 413 marriages was studied.

Eagle Clans	Hawk Clans																												
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*j*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*q*	*r*	*s*	*t*	*u*	*v*	*w*	*x*	*y*	*z*	*aa*	*bb*	*Total*
1	3	5	7	2	5	1	6	1		1	5		1				3												40
2	14	31	12	1	1	1	2			3	16			1				2				7					2	2	95
3	1	7	1		2	1					1				1		1	1											16
4	1	20	17		1				1	11	6		2		2		1	1							1				64
5	9	22	7				1	1		1	6				1		1								1				50
6	5	10	10		5	2				2	3	2	1	1	1		1					2					1		46
7	12	1	2								1		1	1								15	1	1	5	1	1		42
8		1																											1
9		1																											1
10		2			1						1				3														7

INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS



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time the wailing reaches its climax. Everyone wails, but the chief mourner—the consort, parent, child, sister, or brother, as the case may be—clings to the head of the corpse and wails more intensely than the others. Ridae, the widow of Wakatai, alternately waved her arms, wrung her hands, clasped the breast of the corpse and wailed, asking dramatically between the wails what was to become of her now. At another funeral, Lungam, the husband of Kawitti, behaved similarly. They follow the coffin into the cemetery, the wailing becoming louder as it is lowered into a shallow grave. As the loose ground is thrown over the grave and the coffin is covered, the wails are particularly shrill. Finally, when the grave is completely covered over, the wailing ceases, and if the chief mourner is a woman she leaves the cemetery. If a man, he remains where he is.

Now comes the feast. The climax of wailing and outburst of emotions is followed by quiet and calm. Outside the cemetery the women sit and casually chat and laugh and louse one another, or perhaps munch a taro. It is difficult to realize that these are the same people who fifteen minutes before were the participants in an intense emotional scene. Inside the cemetery, where the men are gathered, there is the same tranquillity. The baked taro and pig are distributed in the usual manner.[8] The man who is responsible for giving the feast, a son or maternal nephew or maternal uncle, makes a short speech to the effect that this feast is being held for the person who just died. Then the men eat. They appear quite cheerful and there is nothing subdued or sad about the gathering. The only thing that marks it from a feast not held at the time of the burial is that a few of the men may be so tired that they are asleep on the sand just outside the cemetery and a few people present in the cemetery are not eating at all. These are the husband, brother, maternal nephew, and perhaps a brother's son (all clan relatives with the exception of the husband).

As soon as the burial feast is over the men come out of the cemetery, and there in the compound, where the women are present,

[8]For a more detailed description of the feasts see the writer's article, Feasts in New Ireland, *American Anthropologist* (in press).

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the payments are ritually made to the owners of the pigs which were consumed at the feast, to the dancers, and to those who carried the corpse to the grave. In each case it is a close clan relative, a son, or mother's sister's son, a mother, or a mother's brother who makes the payments. It is never the surviving consort. While one person, such as a son, is considered responsible for the feast, he is assisted by other members of his clan (which is the same as that of the dead person). At the funeral of the old woman, Maling, there were fifteen pigs, all contributed, or rather paid for, by the members of her clan. Her mother's sister's son contributed three, and each one of the other clan relatives one. Most of these pigs were purchased from other people, regardless of clan or moiety, and it was to these people that the payments were made. The man making the payment held up a piece of *tsera* (shell currency) and called out the name of the man or woman to whom he was paying it and mentioned also what the payment was for. At another funeral there were ten pigs and a total payment of 39 *tsera* made for them, 32 out of the 39 being paid by clan relatives of the dead person. The remaining 7 were paid by the following three people, her husband, the chief (whose father was of the same clan as the dead woman), and another man who was of the same moiety, but of a different clan from the dead woman. This man was unmarried and most of his clan relatives were dead. He was a classificatory brother of the dead woman and she had frequently given him food. His contribution now of two *tsera* for a small pig was considered as a reciprocal gift to her. The general rule is that clan relatives pay for all the pigs and services. The exceptions just noted merely indicate that this primitive society is, like all societies, flexible in carrying out its rules.

The officiating clan relative also makes the payment to the dancers and pall-bearers.

The taro for the feast is contributed by all the women of the hamlet and the neighbouring hamlets, the clan relatives bringing a little bit more than the others, but in the matter of taro there is no fine distinction drawn as in the case of payment for pigs. Every woman brings the taro from her garden, and it involves no question of payment. Taro is never sold on any occasion, but pigs are a common object of trade.

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764 614 The payments for the pigs and services show very plainly that it is the clan relatives who are responsible for carrying out the mortuary rites. It is an economic matter and they are the ones who are under an obligation to make the payments. There are fewer exceptions to this rule than almost any other. When Kawitti died her son was absent at a distant village. There was no maternal nephew present either, and she had no daughter. She was survived by a husband, who, in the absence of a clan relative, made a very small burial feast. It was explained at the feast that it was a very small one and that as soon as the son came home he would make a big feast. Eleven days later the son returned, having walked from a far distant village, and after he finished wailing, he immediately began preparations for a really big feast. These preparations took about a week, at the end of which there was a large feast attended by over a hundred people. It was the son who officiated at the feast and who, assisted by his clan relatives, made the necessary payments. The husband of the dead woman was completely in the background.

538 764 614 The ending of the majority of folk tales and myths is also rather interesting, in showing the economic responsibility of the clan relatives for the mortuary rites. An overwhelming number of the folk tales end with the death of one or more of the main characters. The tales all conclude on exactly the same note, " The man died and then all the clan relatives held a pig and made a feast."[9]

RITES AFTER BURIAL

765 The rites after burial may be divided into two parts, those occurring in the period immediately after death (the first month) and those in the succeeding period, which extends to an indefinite number of years.

765 513 834 The sleeping arrangements and taboo on sexual intercourse for the extended family, which began during the burial rites, are continued in this first period. The men sleep in one house, frequently the men's house, and all the women sleep in another house, sometimes

[9] " Holding a pig " refers to holding it just before it is killed.

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the house of the dead person. These include usually the following: real and classificatory sons and daughters and their spouses, brothers and sisters, parents, nephews and nieces. This period of abstention from sexual intercourse lasts about three weeks and its end is marked by a feast. The initiative in terminating this period is taken by a clan relative (a brother in several cases observed). He holds the feast and at it announces the discontinuance of the sleeping taboo. During the time when these sex taboos are enforced all those implicated live in the hamlet where the death occurred. They not only sleep there, but cook, eat, and spend their entire time at this hamlet. One death occurred in the hamlet next to the one in which I was living, involving most of the people in my hamlet, which was consequently deserted for the three weeks following the death. The men spend their time sitting around the cemetery, talking and doing nothing. Their conversation is mostly about any practical affair that happens to engage their attention. After one death it was about the expected visit of the district officer to collect taxes, a very momentous affair in the life of the native, but having nothing to do with the recent death. Each day ~~the~~ men eat together in the cemetery. The women prepare the food together and remain in the compound to eat, but not with the men, instead of returning to their own house to eat, as they usually do. Some of these people are observing food taboos. The taboo is on eating taro, the staple food of the native, and is observed by parents or children, brothers or sisters, and husband or wife. This taboo is kept until a few days before the mourners go back to their ordinary sleeping arrangements, and its end is also marked with a feast, when one of those observing the taboo hits a baked pig on the back before it is cut up for the feast. The hitting of the pig is a signal that the taboo is lifted. If dance rehearsals happen to have been in progress they are discontinued for about ten days after the death.[10] A brother gives the signal for the resumption of the dance rehearsals by sounding the *kolamuth* (a hollowed tree trunk used as a drum). The native evidently makes a distinction between the

[10]Dance rehearsals are carried on for months before a rite, of which they are a part, is held.

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197 The next group (a coastal language) is spoken at Tandis, Limba, Lang-inia, Lassu, Amba.

Then the group spoken at Lemasong, Konnos and Konobin, which is said to extend to the West coast villages—Lamau, Lambak, &c.

The next group is said to extend from Pinigindu to Bulu, and through the Lelet plateau villages across to Mesi and other villages on the West coast, the dialects differing slightly.

Another dialect is found at Logon, and extends past Karu into the Namatanai district.

184 In the social organization there are two main divisions, which agree geographically with the coastal linguistic distribution. From Kavieng 614 to Fatmilak the people are divided into multiple totemic clans with 616 matrilineal descent; from Limalaua to Karu dual organization with the Eagle and the Hawk representing the totems of the clans. The Karu organization is slightly complicated, as will appear later.

614 In both divisions the clans are sub-divided into smaller groupings, each one of which is in some way associated with ancestral ghosts *masolei* or *maselei* (Kavieng to Fatmilak) *misili* (Limalaua to Karu).

The multiple clans represented in the social organization of the people living between Kavieng and Fatmilak are as follow:—

Clan (*erit bung* or *pambong*).	Totem (*mani* or *manu*).	——
A—Monga Kamade	Bungbunga (Hornbill) ..	Fatmilak
	Bangbanga	Luaupul
Moga Kamade	Babanga	Madina
	Bangabanga	Lakurumau
Mogon Kamari	Awoi-iang	Ngavelus
B—Monga Nuas	Balus (Blue Pigeon)	Fatmilak
Monga Nungas	Valus	Lugagun
Mogong Ge	Valus	Ngavelus
C—Monga Muna	Minungak (Eagle)	Fatmilak
	Manungak	Lauaupul
Moga	Munungak	Madina
D—Monga Soluba	Arigaum (Hawk)	Fatmilak
Mariba	.. ..	Kafkaf
Maiba	Regaum	Lakurumau
	Tegaum	Luburua
Miwa	Tegum	Lamekot
	Tekaum	Ngavelus
E—Monga Kala	Harok (red bird nest in ground)	Fatmilak
Kale	Karuk	Lauaupul
Moga Kela	Aiuk	Lakurumau
	Iok	Fongalava
Kala	A Kua	Lamekot
	Guok	Nonapai
Mogong Kali	Kuok	Ngavelus
	Gok	Livitua
F—Monga Tiring or Tiri-in au (Frigate bird)	.. ..	Fatmilak
Tirin	.. ..	Lugagun
Tivinguru ..	.. ..	Lakurumau
	Raula	Fongalava

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Clan (*evit bung* or *pambong*).	Totem (*mani* or *manu*).	
G—Monga Maf	Mangaf (Keet)	Kafkaf
H—Monga Titian	Tutut (Swamp Pheasant) ..	Madina
I—	Kikiak (blue bird fisheater)	
J—Mongo Ke	Kanai (Gul—said to come from New Hanover)	
K—Mogo Momoi-ia	Eara (Blue Parrot)	Lugagun
Naga	Wai-ia	
Wai-ia	.. ..	Lamekot
Nega	A Kat	Livitua
L—Mogang Kala	(Probably same as E)	
M—Moni Tak	A Wut (Small blue bird)	
N—	Tiu (Small bush bird, Fish-eater)	
O—Mogo Tivunalua ..	Maiau (Coconut-eating crab)	
P—Moga Mokon	Kai-au (Bush fowl)	

The clan name is known as *evit bung* sometimes *pambong*; the totem name is *mani* or *manu;* while the social sub-divisions are known as *masolei, maselei* or *misili*. The clan and totem names vary slightly throughout the district according to dialectical changes, e.g. *harok* Fatmilak becomes *iok* at Fongalava, while *wai-ia* Lugagun becomes *kake* at Livitua; some of these variations appear in my notes, but there are doubtless others that I have not recorded.

The clans are exogamous. Between Limalaua and Karu inclusive the clansmen of the Eagle marry the clanswomen of the Hawk, while the clanswomen of the Eagle marry the clansmen of the Hawk. In Karu, however, where it is difficult to distinguish the clans and sub-divisions, owing perhaps to culture contact with mutiple clan people of the Namatanai district, which has confused the local grouping and broken the dual organization, I found instances of marriage between people of the same main social group. It was said that the people are divided into two main groups Malom with the Eagle as totem and Aragu with the Hawk as totem. Groups said to be sub-groups of Malom are Liongo, Hobon, Saut, Karu, Kogo, Kunimi and Kubiomara; groups said to be sub-groups of Aragu are Umalik, Hono, Lodogou, Kubu, Kuton and Nalagos. I was informed that members of the same sub-group could not intermarry, but I found on examining the marriages of the people now living that this expressed rule has been broken several times. The breaches are as follow: In the Aragu group Umalik has married Hono and Kuton, Lodogou has married Kubu, and in the Malom group Liongo has married Hobon, Hobon has married Karu, Saut has married Karu. I found no marriages, however, between a man and woman of the same sub-group. The language spoken at Karu and Logon is said to extend to Kanavit in the Namatanai district.

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582 Within the multiple groupings between Fatmilak and Kavieng
614 marriage within the clan is forbidden, and in some places, I was
informed, the multiple clans are definitely divided into two inter-
616 marrying divisions. Even the natives themselves told me on more than one occasion that "such and such" a clan was "brother" to "such and such" a clan. My notes of the marriages that have actually taken place, however, do not confirm this division into two sets of inter-marrying clans. Until further evidence is available, therefore, I am inclined to think that the so-called brotherhood of clans may be due to a genealogical relationship between the members of certain clans which debars marriage between them. In Lugagun district, for instance, I was told that the multiple clans are divided into the following inter-marrying divisions: 1.—F, D, C, A, E, H; 2.—G, B, K, J.

582 Between Lugagun and Lamekot, however, which is the district
614 referred to, I found in my table of marriages between people recorded on the census the following breaches of this supposed rule:—

B married G.
D married A, F, E, C, H.
C married D, F, H, E, A.
A married D, F, C, H.
G married B.
E married C, F, H, D, A.
F married D, E, A, C.
H married D, C, F, E, A.

In Fatmilak F and H and B and J were said to be "brother" groups, that is to say, F could not marry H and B could not marry J. In my census of that village neither of the groups H, J is named at at all. On the completion of the census I was informed that names entered under F (Monga Tiri-in) comprised many people of H, and the names under B comprised J as well. (Kanai is said to be an introduction from New Hanover, and in other villages its group name is known as Mogo Ke.) In Madina G and B are said to be "strong brothers," and in my census of that village no marriage between the two groups has been recorded.

The suggested inter-marrying divisions of the clans, however, is a matter of great importance and should be investigated intensively. I have mentioned it to Dr. Hortense Powdermaker, who is at present working among the dual people at Lassu, and possibly she may be able to go into the matter before she leaves the district.

In general, throughout the Kavieng-Fatmilak district, clan exogamy is observed, but occasionally, especially as one approaches Kavieng, marriages within the same social group are observed. In Kavieng

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itself several instances were recorded, one even between people of the same subdivision. The people say that such marriages are "bad". They appear to have been contracted in the past as well, and, as far as I could learn, the persons so united do not appear to suffer any social disability on that account.

Marriage is regulated by the clan system, that is to say, a man must marry out of his own clan. It is regulated still further by kinship. In most of the villages, marriage with the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter is strictly prohibited, and in some places this prohibition is extended even to the daughters of classificatory father's sisters and mother's brothers, and almost everywhere men may marry the widow of a mother's brother, the daughters of classificatory cross-cousins, the brother's widow and the wife's sister. In one or two places, however, marriage with the daughters of the real cross-cousins was said to be permitted, although such marriages rarely took place.

I was able to investigate pedigrees in a few villages. The kinship terms used by the persons recorded in these pedigrees, together with fragmentary notes on the marriages that had taken place or were said to be permissible, are given hereunder. Owing to lack of time, however, these particulars are not complete, and I am submitting them merely for purposes of record, as they might be of use to future investigators with more time to spend in the investigation of social organization.

The first pedigree was taken at Luburua. The terms of relationship used by the various persons recorded are as follow:—

Tamang.—Father.
Nang.—Mother.
Natuk.—Son.
Imuna.—Father's sister; father's sister's husband; husband of father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's wife.
Imuna.—Sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother; wife's mother.
Ifina.—Father's sister's son; mother's brother's son; sister's husband; wife's father.
Kaisuna.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's daughter's son; mother's brother's daughter.
Mogetena.—Mother's brother's sister's son.
Inena.—Husband's father; husband's mother.
Tinafin.—Sister.
Ifandevin.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.
Palun.—Sister (woman speaking); brother.
Tinamean.—Sister; brother (woman speaking).

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601 ***Rok.***—**Brother; sister** (woman speaking).
Matok.—Brother's wife; husband's brother.
Sagok.—Sister; brother (woman speaking).
Ramisik.—Wife's brother; sister's husband.
Suk or *Oitanu.*—Wife.
Suk.—Husband.
Enak.—Husband's mother; son's wife (woman speaking).
Egik.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

582 In this pedigree one man is married to two sisters who are both living. The cross-cousin marriage is said to be definitely barred. A man is permitted to marry his mother's brother's widow, his brother's widow, his wife's sister, or the daughter of his mother's brother's daughter. In this village there are several instances of marriage between people of the same clan.

586 587 In almost every village on the East coast of New Ireland there are numerous men and women who have been divorced and re-married several times. The priests of the Roman Catholic Mission hold that the facility with which these divorces and re-marriages take place reacts on the issue rate of the community.

614 162 The clan distribution of the population between Kavieng and Karu is shown in the following tables of adults and children of both sexes. (Appendix 2.)

614 As I have already stated, each clan is divided into sub-groupings associated in some way with the ghosts of the dead. Every person, therefore, has his clan *evit-bung* or *pambang* (north of Fatmilak), *butamit* (south of Fatmilak), his totem, *mani*, and his sub-division, *masolei*, *masele* (north of Fatmilak), *morali* or *misili* (south of Fatmilak). The sub-divisions bear the names of pieces of land, caves, capes, mountains, rocks, prominent points on the sea-shore, reefs, rivers, waterfalls, or other natural phenomena, characteristic of the spot from which the sub-division is said to have originated, and in addition they bear the names of and are associated with mythical pigs, snakes, sharks, or other animals connected with the site that bears the group name. A large number of the *masolei* sites consist of fertile land, which is planted from time to time by the members of the *masolei* sub-division or by people of other sub-divisions permitted to do so. Quite a number [778] of the sub-division locations, however, are barren, and without value. Such places are regarded simply as sacred spots to which the members of the sub-divisions associated with them have rights against others.

Between Kavieng and Fatmilak there are many villages in which the clans have merely one or two sub-divisions apparently of little importance. In Kavieng itself I found the same sub-divisional name occurring in more than one clan. In places like Lakuramau and

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Fatmilak there are numerous sub-divisions which appear to have an important bearing in matters relating to land. The place of the sub-division in the life of the people between Kavieng and Fatmilak is a subject for further investigation. 614

However small its place in the groups north of Fatmilak, the sub-division of the people between Limalaua and Karu plays a most important part in social organization, culture and economic and land transactions. It constantly crops up in the mythology, and appears to be the unit of all important social phenomena. The sub-division may be an earlier form of social organization than the dual grouping into which the numerous sub-divisions are now divided. In the bush group of Limalaua I was given vague information to the effect that the sub-divisions of the eagle *minungak* are also sub-divisions of *ilok*, a black bush bird, and that the sub-divisions of the hawk *yarangam* are sub-divisions of *kugigama* an owl, but I had neither the time nor the opportunity to discover exactly what this meant.

During land inquiries held by me a whole series of stories was revealed, connected with the mythical origin of some of the sub-divisions, the members of which are now widely dispersed, some of them far from the villages where the groups are said to have originated. When land has to be bought from natives, claimants spring up from every direction, many of them far away from the land in question. The stories also account for certain migratory movements of the members of the sub-divisions, and shed an interesting light on such factors as inter-marriage and fission in the dispersal and distribution of social groupings. 773 614

The social groupings, therefore, to which an individual has definite obligations are his sub-division, his clan, his totem, his place of residence and his village or political unit, each of which plays an important part in regulating his material and cultural life. 614 624

Between Fatmilak and Karu the land appears to be owned by the sub-divisions or sub-groups, and each member of a sub-group appears to have vague individual rights to certain portions of the land of his group. He has, for instance, the right to allow any person, either of his own or the opposite clan, to make a garden on his land, which privilege, on the death of the holder, is subsequently inherited by his sister's children and own children. He has also the right to allow any person to plant coco-nut trees or any other useful trees on the land, and these trees may also be inherited as above. No person, however, appears to be able to dispose of any land without the consent of the other members of his sub-group, and, when payment is eventually made for the land purchased, all persons sharing in the benefits of the land share also in the purchase money. This is paid to the sub-group owners, and by them distributed according to their obligations. 423 614 [428]

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423 People enjoying the use of land belonging to a sub-group different from
614 their own invariably make presents of food and coco-nuts at different times to the owners of the land.

614 So widely distributed sometimes are the members of the sub-groups, that it is no uncommon thing during the investigation of a land-matter to find claimants living in villages a great distance from the ground in question.

428 In one pedigree investigated at Madina a man of that place named Arakai, inherited the ground and personal belongings of his father, who had no sister. Arakai also inherited the ground and belongings of his mother's brother, Aulim, although Aulim had a son. The property inherited from Aulim, however, was shared with the son. Usually before he dies, a man makes known his wishes regarding the disposition of property. Arakai, who has no children, has already [562] told every one that on his death Tapua, the son of his sister, is to have his land and property. Women also appear to inherit ground.

In Letatan, a bush group living below Lassu, it was said that property is inherited by own children and sister's children.

During a land investigation at Lasigi and Konagnusgnus payment for land sold to a European was claimed by surviving members of the sub-group of the deceased land-owners. In all these cases claimants proved genealogical relationship. Shares in the payment were also claimed by the children and grandchildren of the dead men and the grandchildren of their brothers (these deceased land-owners had no sisters).

423 In a land investigation held at Lassu for the purpose of buying a
432 piece of land that the natives had agreed to sell, the following information was collected.

614 The area involved was owned by eight different sub-groups, each of which held one portion. A portion known as Pari was owned by the sub-group Pari; Langhalu was owned by Pagali sub-group; Kanawi was owned by Samkila sub-group; Roroi was owned by Roroi sub-group (the survivors of which lived at Langinia); Panula was owned by Sililia sub-group; Dangkolong was owned by Mauga sub-group; Mimilnat was owned by Solemba sub-group, and Lanluminandigo was owned by Tupila sub-group.

The surviving members of these sub-groups claimed payment. Some of them lived in villages many miles away from the ground, but all of them proved genealogical relationship with persons about three generations back to whom the various portions then belonged. Other claimants belonging to sub-groups different from those said to be the owners, and many belonging even to the opposite clan, then appeared, contending that, as their ancestors or parents had been permitted by the early owners to plant food or economic trees on various lots within

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the portions concerned—a privilege which they and their descendants would now lose—they too were entitled to some compensation. A discussion of the position was held in the presence of the principal men of the villages concerned, and the methods of payment were arranged as follow:—

The recognized principal man of each sub-group was to receive the full amount of payment for the portion sold. This was to be distributed by him among the members of the sub-group; they in turn would then share it with the members of other sub-groups and the members of the opposite clan, who by the sale had been deprived of the privileges granted to their ancestors and parents by the former owners.

During another investigation made at Fatmilak into the distribution of moneys paid by the Government some time ago for the purchase of land in that district, I found confirmation of the rules laid down at the Lassu discussion. The full amount of purchase money had been divided by the principal men among the surviving members of the sub-groups owning the land sold; each of these persons in turn had fulfilled the obligations incurred (gifts of garden land, &c.) by the earlier owners. For this purpose payment of a share of the money received was made to each of the members of the other sub-groups and people of the opposite clan, who by the sale of the ground had been deprived of the privileges granted to their ancestors and parents.

In all of these transactions the children of a man shared with the sister's children.

A further distribution on similar lines will take place at Madina when the Madina plantation land is eventually paid for. The ownership of this land was investigated by me, and the following information was recorded. This should be checked by the District Officer when the purchase is being made:—

MADINA LAND.

Portion Tauoro—Belongs to clan Haruk, sub-group, Panawotlas. Principal men: Milalang of Madina; Kamat of Fatmilak; Rombui, female of Fatmilak. In this transaction it is said that Milalang will distribute the purchase money among the Madina members of the Haruk clan who are entitled to it, and the two Fatmilak members of the same clan. These people will then share the money with other persons entitled to compensation.

Portion Panabakbak—Belonging to Mangaf clan, sub-group, Pailik. Principal men: Agot of Madina; Pitilot of Lugagan; Mamoka and Bawas (both of Madina who will distribute purchase money among the persons entitled).

Portion Monariba.—Belonging to clan Arigaum, sub-groups, Tabik and Mabu. Principal men: Kunak of Tabar and Tamela of Madina. In this case Kunak being absent Tamela will receive the purchase money, and will distribute it as required.

Portion Panagaramut—Belonging to clan Adau, sub-group, Panalile. Principal man, Bato of Madina, who will receive the purchase money and distribute it.

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423 Portion Nosi—Belonging to clan Balus, sub-group, Lamis. Principal man, Arkai of Madina and later of Laraibin, who will receive the purchase money and
432 distribute it according to custom.

614 Portion Porokalaman—Belonging to clan Babanga, sub-group, Savinu. Principal man, Lamani of Madina, who will receive the purchase money and distribute it in accordance with custom. In this case the Luluai of Luaupul and Arakai of Madina are entitled to a share as compensation for gifts of ground made by the original owners to their ancestors and parents, the Luluai of Luaupul being the son of the sister of Lombu, the last owner of the ground. Lombu, before he died, permitted the father of Arakai to plant and use part of the ground.

Portion Seladara—Belonging to Mununga̱k clan. Principal man, Kauavek of Madina, who will distribute it among the people entitled. In this case, two women of Lugagun share in the purchase money.

Portion Lemagaf—Belonging to clan Arigaum. Names of principal men not given.

Portion Naberabera—Belonging to clan Balus. Names of principal men not given.

The last two portions belong to people of Luaupul, who were not present at the inquiry, and regarding whose ownership the people of Madina were unable to give me particulars."

142 Physically the people of the East coast are of medium height and robust build. They are woolly-haired and brown-eyed; the skin colour varies from light to dark brown, many being almost black; usually the cheek bones are prominent; in many cases the nose is concave and deep-rooted below prominent brow ridges, but a straight or convex nose is frequently seen. There is little prognathism. Many of the men and women are distinctly pleasant faced. Usually the hair is [302] bleached with lime, and worn fairly short in well-combed frizzy mops. In the vicinity of Kandan I saw bald-headed old men wearing neatly made wigs of human hair twisted into short ringlets. There are many [143] fair-haired people with brick-red skin who were said to have been born thus, and two or three cases of true albinism were found.

226 The coastal people fish with spears, nets and lines. In many places they go out into deep water in canoes, and catch sharks by the noose and rattle method that has been described before. Shark fishing expeditions are attended with considerable magical preparation. Representations of sharks appear in the carved portions of the canoe. Small fish for bait are caught secretly at night "so that sharks will not know what is threatening them." No one but the fisherman sees this going on. The operation involves certain sacrifices on the part of those engaged in it, such as food tabu, keeping away from women, &c. The expedition starts at break of dawn, before any one else is awake. The canoe men watch their opportunity and shoot out through the breakers. They make their way right out to sea looking for timber and drift wood washed out by the rains. Here small fish gather together in large numbers and attract the sharks. The rattles are sounded and the sharks thinking it is the noise made by sea birds

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Villag

♂ Name.	Apparent Age.	Social Group.	Name.	Apparent Age.	Social Group.	Village of ♂ or ♀ if of another village	
Luluai Lumok ..	50	a.	(1) Tana ..	40	II.	.. ..	2 △
2 △ Sisa ..	25	II.	Meta ..	20	b	♀ of Lelet ..	
⊖	..	..	Posat ..	30	III.	.. ..	Sinu
Tela	50	IV.	.. ..	..	..	.. ..	
Sona ..	..	..	(1) Semil ..	43	a	♂ of Lassu ..	
			(2) Tamug ..	40	c	.. ..	Sasu
			Marien ..	26	b	.. ..	Selut
Ara	..	II.	Senop ..	50	a	.. ..	Mesa
Sekop ..	30	II.	Tilan ..	..	b	.. ..	
═══ ..	..	III.	═══ ..	..	a	.. ..	Silar
═══ ..	..	a	═══ ..	..	II.	.. ..	Sika
═══ ..	..	b	═══ ..	..	III.	.. ..	

± ◊ child male dying during lactation period (first two years). ♂ male dyin

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APPEND

SPECIMEN OF CEN

Village—Tandis—coastal people—Clans A. Kungkung (eagle). Subdivisions—(a). Lamatis gr
Clans I. Talanga (hawk). Subdivisions—II. Sagil ground Langinia.—

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								Children.			
Name.		Apparent Age.	Social Group.	Name.		Apparent Age.	Social Group.	Name.			S
2 △		..	..	Solus ..		20	II.	Tami ..	..		
.. ..		..	..	.. ..		..	..	.. ..	..		
Sinut ..		4	III.	Lesa ..	..	1½	III.	∈ Tar ..	..		
.. ..		..	..	.. ..		..	..	.. ..	..		
.. ..		..	..	.. ..		..	..	Welan ..	..		
Sasu		3	c	.. ..		..	..	Welani ..	..		
Selut ..		4	b	Suta ..		2	b	Atap ..	..		
Mesa ..		20	a	.. ..		..	..	.. ..	..		
.. ..		..	..	.. ..		..	..	.. ..	..		
Silam ..		14	a	Teran ..		12	a	.. ..	..		
Sika ..		25	II.	.. ..		..	..	.. ..	..		
.. ..		..	..	Melus ..		19	III.	.. ..	..		
								Janen ..	..		
								{Sesa .. / Sinap ..	.. / ..		
								{Sali = .. / Penet ..	.. / ..		
								{Tona = .. / Pelmo ..	.. / ..		

Person dead is shown with ═══ beneath name. = l

dying after having passed lactation period. ♦ male stillborn. ♦♦ twins dying a

Names and terms abov

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ound near Libba.—(*b*). Wunul ground in bush near Bol.—(*c*). Tumital point Bolagila.
-III. Lavera ground Walapul.—IV. Taliwa stone near Libba.

Absent, school, mission, or working.					Name.	S
ex.	Age.	Social Group.	Place now.	Children who have died.		
♂	16	II.	Rabaul	◊ ♦ ♂ ..	Seluan	♀
..	..	..	.. .. ..	.. ..	.. .. ..	.
♂	35	*c*	New Guinea	1 + ♦	.. .. ..	.
..	..	..	.. .. ..	.. ..	.. .. ..	.
♂	15	*a*	R.C. Mission Rab.	.. ..	.. ..	.
♂	10	*c*	Govt. School Rab.	.. ..	.. .. ..	.
♀	9	*b*	M. Mission Rab. ..	.. ..	.. .. ..	.
..	..	..	.. .. ..	.. ..	.. .. ..	.
..	..	..	.. .. ..	♦ ♦ .. .. + +	.. .. ..	.
..	..	..	.. .. ..	.. ..	.. .. ..	.
..	..	..	.. .. ..	.. ..	.. .. ..	.
..	..	..	.. .. ..	.. ..	.. .. ..	.
♂	19	*b*	Kavieng	.. ..	.. .. ..	
♂	6	*a*	Methodist Mission	.. ..	.. .. ..	
♀	4	*a*	Kavieng			
♂	30	*b*	Teachers R.C. ..	.. ..	.. .. ..	
♀	25	III.	Mission N.G.			
♂	20	IV.	Rabaul	.. ..	.. .. ..	
♀	19	*b*				

between two names indicates that they are married.

stillborn. ◊ child female dying during lactation period (first two years). ♀ fe
+

re are fictitious.

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3: Chinnery G,E-5 (1929) /1931/ OM10 New Ireland OM10

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ADOPTED CHILDREN.						General Remarks.
	Sex.	Age.	Social Group.	By whom Adopted.	Relationship to person adopting.	
..	♀	4	II.	♂	Tamunatu ..	♦ twin of Sisa △—Sisa shown in this column for counting issue 2
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Newly married—Sisa is son of Tanu
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	First child male stillborn—husband working
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Semil has no children since marrying Tela
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Son of Semil's first husband Sona deceased
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Tela's two wives are sisters
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Marien unmarried—paternity of children unknown
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Senop is a widow
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Sekop widower—Tilan died at birth of female twins (stillborn)
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Brother and sister orphans
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Orphan male unmarried
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Orphan female unmarried
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Orphan working
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Orphan brother and sister at mission
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Husband and wife mission teachers
..	..	..	..	..	.. ..	Husband and wife working Rabaul

♀ female dying after having passed lactation period. ♦ female stillborn.

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Village.	A Hornbill				B Pigeon.				C Eagle.				
	Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Ad
	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂
Kulangit	..	..	..	..	18	7	4	6	..	..	..	..	..
Bagail	..	..	..	..	4	7	3	4	..	..	..	..	..
Mongal	..	..	..	..	8	5	3	4	..	..	..	..	..
Omo	..	..	..	..	50	35	11	13	..	..	..	..	..
Maiom	..	..	..	..	13	4	0	3	..	..	..	..	..
Papliang	..	..	..	..	16	12	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Bobai	..	..	..	..	10	3	0	2	..	..	..	..	..
Kapliman	..	..	..	..	16	9	4	3	1	..	..	..	..
Kaselok	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Putput	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Nono	..	1	..	..	6	8	2	7	..	..	..	..	1
Ngavelus	..	..	..	..	5	6	1	4	..	..	..	..	..
Lovongai	..	..	..	..	5	6	5	6	1	..	..	..	1
Losuk	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	4	3	2	..	5
Mangai	..	..	..	..	9	11	0	3	18	9	2	2	..
Livitua	..	..	..	..	4	1	0	1	6	3	3	2	10
Laowan	..	..	..	..	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	..	15
Vongararum	..	1	2	..	4	4	3	3	..	5	4	3	16
Paruai	..	1	2	1	..	2	2	0	1	..	..	..	..	17
Lakurafanga	..	14	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Nonapai	..	1	2	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Sali	..	4	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	19
Lamekot	..	5	4	2	3	8	7	4	1	..	..	..	..	13
Fongalava	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	20
Luburua	..	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	16	6	2	1	1
Lakurumau	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	16	4	6	33
Munuwai	..	5	4	..	2	6	2	1	3	22	15	5	3	6
Laraibina	..	5	1	1	..	1	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
Lugagun	..	6	6	3	5	1	..	..	..	2	4	1	2	8
Madina	..	10	5	4	1	9	9	3	8	9	4	1	1	15
Lnaupul	..	3	3	1	..	23	21	9	11	18	23	3	6	8
Fisoa	..	2	..	..	..	39	37	9	8	5	..	..	..	1
Kafkaf	..	..	1	..	..	11	13	12	5	1	2	1	2	8
Fatmilak	..	2	7	3	3	43	25	9	7	18	23	4	7	17
Limalana	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	16	8	5	21
Tandis	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	20	9	7	25
Limba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	29	12	9	41
Yendat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	9	7	6	10
Langmia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29	19	11	7	35
Lassu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	59	29	27	16	45
Hamba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	13	8	5	22
Letatan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	19	13	7	20
Lemasong	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	38	15	15	52
Konnos	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	20	15	12	25
Konobin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	12	4	3	21
Pinigindu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48	49	16	9	60
Tekirot	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	17	8	2	13
Katendan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	21	8	6	25
Lambuso	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	22	4	4	31
Malom	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	49	40	18	14	51
Lasigi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	30	7	8	26
Watkana	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	48	13	7	46
Kanagnagnus	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	2	3	9
Livinko	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	20	2	1	15
Kandan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	11	3	4	15
Limbin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	49	35	5	12	35
Kantebu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	17	5	2	16
Bumbawe	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	20	3	6	16
Lemaria	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	13	4	2	12
Kanamba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	17	4	3	23
Watlamo	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	19	4	4	23
Panatgin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	15	1	5	15
Dabinot	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	15	5	8	22
Silom	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	14	..	5	15
Katenda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	9	4	3	15
Buhu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	8	8	3	8
Logon	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	15	9	13	31
Kanam	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	14	7	2	17
Karu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	20	7	8	32

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D Hawk.				E Harrier.				F Frigate Bird.				G Kestrel.				
Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adu
♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	4	2	1	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	3	3	2	17	10	6	4	22
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	8	2	2	11
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	51	26	12	5	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	1	..	..	17	11	5	5	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	5	..	1	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	10	3	6	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	5	1	5	18	14	10	8	1
1	3	2	3	..	..	..	..	14	5	1	..	8	10	3	1	12
..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	9	3	1	0	11	4	1	1	7
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	7	5	0	5	..	..	..	8
1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	6	3	1	2	2	1	..	3
1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	19	20	7	10	2	1	..	1	27
5	2	..	1	2	1	..	..	9	9	3	2	4	1	1	..	3
..	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	20	5	0	3	2	1	..	2	10
10	9	2	1	13	12	5	3	1	..	..	..	5	2	1	..	23
15	14	1	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	3	..	..	15
16	11	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5	1	1	15
17	16	14	10	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	15
6	3	3	4	..	2	..	3	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	13
13	9	9	9	..	1	..	..	4	5	1	2	..	..	..	..	19
19	12	4	4	..	..	..	..	5	3	1	..	3	2	..	..	5
13	14	4	6	11	9	3	5	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	12
20	14	7	7	15	8	2	2	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
1	1	2	1	14	8	2	6	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	2	..
33	18	4	7	5	6	..	5	10	11	4	5	21	9	12	5	6
6	..	..	..	4	4	1	3	20	16	6	8	25	20	4	7	1
..	1	..	2	2	2	1	..	8	18	8	11	27	10	2	..	..
8	3	3	3	7	4	2	2	23	7	5	4	32	26	6	12	1
15	12	5	3	18	16	9	11	6	3	2	2	21	15	6	7	..
8	10	1	5	4	7	3	3	2	1	..	..	2	1	..	2	..
1	..	..	..	13	9	8	4	29	23	9	7	..	..	..	..	..
8	3	5	1	1	..	..	..	20	13	4	3	2	..	..	1	..
17	15	9	5	3	1	1	1	34	34	7	16	..	..	..	..	..
21	21	8	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25	20	7	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
41	23	11	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	15	9	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	19	10	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45	45	20	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	12	16	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20	16	6	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
52	30	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25	34	13	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21	17	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60	42	10	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	13	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25	16	4	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	27	12	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
51	39	17	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	21	5	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	34	10	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	8	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	17	9	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	10	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	26	8	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	14	8	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	12	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	10	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	20	19	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	14	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	14	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	7	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	10	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	14	5	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	11	6	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	17	6	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	12	4	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32	18	10	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

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APPENDIX II.

DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS.

H TUTUT				I KIKIAK.				J KANAI				K WAI-IA				
Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		A
♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂
..	4	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	13	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	4	3	4	..
11	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	2	0	..
..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
12	8	7	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	7	6	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	..	..	..
8	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	1	1	..
3	10	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	5	1	1	..
27	12	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6	6	7	..
3	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	13	6	2	..
10	5	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
23	20	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	1	1	..
15	14	11	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	..	3	..
15	16	3	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
15	9	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	0	1	1
13	4	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	9	10	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..
12	8	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
6	11	7	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	1	..	..	..
1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	2	..
..	1	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..

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L				M Awut.				N Tiv.				O Crab.				
Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		A
♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	12	8	4	..
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3: Chinnery G,E-5 (1929) /1931/ OM10 New Ireland OL10

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Bush Bowl				Population of Village Clans
Adults		Children		
♂	♀	♂	♀	Unnamed
				55 8
				139 ..
				74 3
				206 11
				104 ..
				68 1
				51 ..
	1			114 1
				86 2
9	5	5	3	83 ..
				80 ..
				78 3
				163 2
				98 1
				115 ..
				145 ..
				112 ..
				113 2
				118 ..
				70 ..
				103 ..
				76 ..
				127 4
				113 ..
				86 ..
				240 2
				195 ..
				107 ..
				185 2
				221 ..
				170 2
				203 3
				109 ..
				294 17
				119 5
				124 9
				461 ..
				75 ..
				141 ..
				259 ..
				92 4
				114 ..
				213 2
				177 ..
				90 ..
				245 ..
				91 5
				108 ..
				145 ..
				245 ..
				123 ..
				207 ..
				37 ..
				92 ..
				68 ..
				181 ..
				85 ..
				85 ..
				63 ..
				127 ..
				90 ..
				88 ..
				76 ..
				61 ..
				68 ..
				68 ..
				124 2
				76 ..
				134 ..

SUMMARY OF CLANS.

	Adults.		Children		Total.
	♂	♀	♂	♀	
A ..	66	51	24	22	
B ..	321	239	86	105	
C ..	1,076	833	310	261	
D ..	1,123	850	363	330	
E ..	115	95	39	18	
F ..	302	202	71	83	
G ..	338	200	83	74	
H ..	242	184	85	66	
I ..	..	..	..	..	
J ..	2	9	5	5	
K ..	72	48	21	22	
L ..	1	..	..	..	
M ..	1	1	..	..	
N ..	1	..	..	..	
O ..	23	20	9	7	
P ..	5	6	5	8	
Total ..	3,688	2,738	1,101	1,026	8,553
Unknown Clans					92
					8,645

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